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ACTION: NONE

81 7343320 SCP

PAGE 001

NC 7343320

TOR: 240038Z OCT 81

PP RUEA1IB
ZNY CCCCC ZUC STATE ZZH
STU9835
PP RUEHC
DE RUDKRW #0399/01 2961530
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P R 231437Z OCT 81
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3561
INFO RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 5904
RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 3676
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4912
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1066
RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6415
RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 6336
RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4552
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 739
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 7829
RUFHMU/AMCONSUL MUNICH 4092
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4179
RUDKRP/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6302
RUEHRD/AMEMBASSY ROME 2041
RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 4984
RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 1298
RUFHJA/USMISSION USBERLIN 4289
RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 3399
RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 026
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDV
RUEKJCS/DOD WASHDC
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN
RUDORRA/USNMR SHAPE /INTAF/

CONFIDENTIAL

State Dept. review completed

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 7343320 SCP

PAGE 002

NC 7343320

TOR: 240038Z OCT 81

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 10399 COMBINED SECTION

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/23/87 (WILGIS, HERBERT E.) OR-M

TAGS: PINT, PGDV, PL

SUBJECT: PARTY OFFICIAL ON STATE OF PARTY AND USE OF FORCE

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: PARTY OFFICIAL PREDICTS THAT THE NEXT PARTY PLENUM WILL BE HELD THE FIRST PART OF NEXT WEEK AND WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE THEME OF MAKING PARTY WORK MORE EFFECTIVE. HE IMPLIED THAT THIS WILL INVOLVE SEVERAL HIGH-LEVEL PERSONNEL CHANGES IN BOTH THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THE AUTHORITIES ARE MORE PRONE TO USE FORCE UNDER JARUZELSKI THAN THEY WERE UNDER KANIA, BUT CLAIMED THAT A NEW POLICY ON THIS POINT HAS NOT BEEN ADOPTED. HE SAID FORCE WOULD BE USED ONLY TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND WOULD BE THE MINIMUM CONSISTENT WITH THIS GOAL. END SUMMARY.

3. DCM CALLED ON KRZYSZTOF OSTROWSKI (PROTECT), DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF PUWP, TO ASK ABOUT FOURTH PLENUM OF CC (AT WHICH KANIA WAS REPLACED BY JARUZELSKI) AND FIFTH PLENUM (EXPECTED SHORTLY) AND TO REMIND PARTY THAT USE OF FORCE BY REGIME COULD HAVE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR US-POLISH RELATIONS.

4. FOURTH PLENUM: OSTROWSKI SAID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS FACED AT THE FOURTH PLENUM LAST WEEK WITH A GROUND SWELL OF DISSATISFACTION ON THE PART OF THE PARTY'S BASE WITH THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP. THE BASE FELT THAT THE GUIDELINES ADOPTED BY THE PARTY CONGRESS IN JULY WERE VALID, BUT IT ALSO FELT ITSELF TO BE LEADERLESS AND, THEREFORE, INCAPABLE OF TAKING ACTION. OSTROWSKI CLAIMED THAT THE PLENUM'S RESOLUTION SHOULD BE READ IN THIS LIGHT: REAFFIRMATION OF THE CONGRESS' GUIDELINES AND PARTY PROGRAM, BUT A CALL FOR AN ACTION PROGRAM.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 7343320 SCP

PAGE 003
TOR: 240038Z OCT 81

NC 7343320

5. FIFTH PLENUM: OSTROWSKI SAID THE NEXT PLENUM WILL NOT BE HELD THIS WEEKEND, AS HAD BEEN EXPECTED, BUT RATHER THE FIRST PART OF NEXT WEEK JUST PRIOR TO A SEJM SESSION SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN MID-WEEK. THE PLENUM WILL BE DEVOTED TO MAKING THE ACTION PROGRAM ADOPTED AT THE LAST PLENUM MORE EFFECTIVE. ONE WAY THIS WOULD BE DONE WOULD BE ON INCREASE THE "PREROGATIVE" OF THE GOVERNMENT, BUT HE ADDED, NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SEJM. OSTROWSKI IMPLIED THAT THIS WILL INVOLVE SEVERAL CHANGES IN THE PARTY'S AND GOVERNMENT'S LEADERS. HE DECLINED TO SAY IF HE EXPECTED JARUZELSKI TO REMAIN AS PREMIER AND DEFENSE MINISTER, BUT NOTED ONE WAY TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT MORE EFFECTIVE IS TO INCREASE PERSONAL TIES BETWEEN IT AND THE PARTY.

6. OSTROWSKI SAID ONE QUESTION WHICH MUST BE ADDRESSED IS WHETHER TO ELECT KANIA TO THE POLITBURO. HE CLAIMED KANIA LOST HIS SEAT, WHICH HE HAD ONLY BY VIRTUE OF BEING FIRST SECRETARY. (ANOTHER PARTY SOURCE EARLIER THIS WEEK ALSO SAID KANIA WAS NO LONGER A POLITBURO MEMBER.) HE DID NOT PREDICT HOW THIS QUESTION WILL BE SETTLED, BUT EXCLUDED COMPLETELY ANY POSSIBILITY OF KANIA'S BECOMING A PARTY SECRETARY. OSTROWSKI ALSO NOTED THAT THE POLITBURO CAN HAVE AS MANY AS 19 MEMBERS, AN INCREASE OF FIVE; HE EXPECTS THAT SOME NEW MEMBERS WILL BE NAMED AT THE PLENUM.

7. USE OF FORCE: DCM REMINDED OSTROWSKI THAT USE OF FORCE TO SUPPRESS INTERNAL DISSENT WOULD HAVE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR POLAND'S BIALTERAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.N JUST AT THE TIME WHEN A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP IS NEEDED TO ADDRESS POLAND'S DIFFICULTIES. THE EMPHASIS THE PARTY IS PUTTING ON ACTION AND THE RECENT USE OF FORCE IN KATOWICE AND WROCLAW RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE REGIME HAS ADOPTED A NEW POLICY ON THIS POINT.

8. OSTROWSKI REPLIED THAT THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) ARE COMMITTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER. AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO USE FORCE TO THIS END. HE DENIED THAT THIS IS A NEW POLICY, BUT SAID THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE MORE LIKELY TO USE FORCE NOW THAN THEY WERE BEFORE THE FOURTH PLENUM.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE

81 7343320 SCP

PAGE 004

NC 7343320

TOR: 240038Z OCT 81

9. OSTROWSKI EMPHASIZED THAT THE PARTY DOES NOT WANT A NATIONAL CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARITY AND, THEREFORE, INTENDS TO CONTINUE A DIALOGUE WITH THE UNION. FORCE WILL BE USED ONLY AS LOCAL SITUATIONS REQUIRE; WHEN ORDER BREAKS DOWN, IT WILL BE THE MINIMUM REQUIRED TO MAINTAIN ORDER. WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KATOWICE, OSTROWSKI SAID THE POLICE HAD USED FORCE SOLELY TO PROTECT THE POLICE STATION, WHICH IS LOCATED IMMEDIATELY ADJACENT TO THE AREA WHERE THE SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATION WAS TAKING PLACE.

10. COMMENT: THE DELAY IN HOLDING THE NEXT PLENUM AND THE EXPECTATION THAT THE PLENUM WILL DECIDE ON SEVERAL HIGH-LEVEL PERSONNEL CHANGES MAY MEAN THAT JARUZELSKI HAS NOT YET GOTTEN HIS ACT ENTIRELY TOGETHER. OSTROWSKI'S EXPLANATION OF THE KATOWICE INCIDENT DOES NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF WHY THE POLICE STOPPED SOLIDARITY FROM DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE IN THE FIRST PLACE, THUS SPARKING THE INCIDENT WHICH LEAD TO THE USE OF FORCE. HOWEVER, THE PATTERN WE HAVE OBSERVED SO FAR OF THE INCIDENTS IN KATOWICE AND WROCLAW LENDS SUBSTANCE TO OSTROWSKI'S CLAIM THAT THE REGIME WILL RESORT TO FORCE IN LOCAL INCIDENTS RATHER THAN SEEK A NEW NATION-WIDE CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARITY. MEEHAN

END OF MESSAGE

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